

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## WE RENOUNCE ALL WAR: OUR PLEDGE TO HUMANITY

### We Will Continue Undaunted Our Constructive Work for Peace

**T**HE calamity the pacifist movement has striven hard to prevent has fallen upon the people of Europe.

War is here, and no one can foretell its course or its consequences. All our thoughts from now onward must be attuned to this new, this incredible, this ghastly circumstance.

What now? What is to be our task in the dark days that are ahead? What message have we for a people thrown uncomprehendingly into the maelstrom of conflict? What are we to do, we who call ourselves pacifists, we who believe that there is but one way to a decent order of society: the way of non-violence, of brotherhood, of co-operation? What is our next step?

These questions are answered by Stuart D. Morris in this article, in which he speaks quite personally.



Stuart Morris

**By STUART D. MORRIS**  
**Chairman, Peace Pledge Union**

**I** MUST make it quite clear at the outset that I write this on my own responsibility. The National Council and Sponsors have been asked to meet today, September 8th, so they have not had the opportunity of approving this message.

I hope, however, that I am giving expression to the spirit and method of the Peace Pledge Union, even if this interpretation of it must be regarded as a personal one.

One question which is being asked in countless letters, constant phone calls and by every caller:—"What is the Peace Pledge Union going to do now?"—and the answer surely is quite simple, "What it always has done."

I should have thought that one of the advantages of pacifism at this moment lies in the fact that we do not really need to ask that question. For our circumstances cannot alter principles.

### About This Issue . . .

**T**HIS week *Peace News* consists of four pages instead of the usual twelve.

You will, however, have received this copy in duplicate. This will enable you to pass one copy on to someone who would not otherwise read it—or you can leave it in train, bus, or restaurant.

We have not been able to reduce the price as to do so would deprive us of the present arrangements for distribution through wholesale newsagents. We are sure readers will be ready to pay the usual price, even for a smaller paper, to enable us to carry on.

And in any case we may be able to give more pages in future issues. Each week we shall give you as much as we can for the money—whether four, eight or twelve pages. [See "From the Editor to all Readers"—p. 2].

I have said it before, let me say it again: "We are in the present tragedy not because pacifism has been tried and found wanting, but because all the other policies have been tried, and have now failed." This, therefore, is no time for talking as though we had failed. The war is the final vindication of our assertions.

**Our pledge to humanity therefore stands. We renounce war and will never support or sanction another.** For the first time the second part of our pledge suddenly becomes the more real.

We do not merely renounce war as those do who, for instance, say that war in general is un-Christian but that this particular war is one in which a Christian may well fight. We renounce war and refuse to take part in or sanction another—and that means this war. We refuse to take part in this war.

Immediately, therefore, we find ourselves cut off from the larger number of our fellow-citizens who, in one way or another, are answering the call to place themselves at the service of the State for the prosecution of the war. That we cannot do.

Whatever may be the temptation, however great the urge "to do something," what we do must not be such as to involve us in the war by reason of a deliberate act on our part. On the other hand, the desire "to do something" must not lead us into precipitate action which cannot express or commend our pacifism.

### Two Views

**N**O-ONE can read the letters which are pouring into the office without being conscious that there are two views about pacifist activity in war-time which may seem to be divergent.

Call them if you will the "absolutist" and the "humanitarian." I do not believe that they are divergent. They are different expressions of the common resolve not to support war and yet not to immobilize our pacifism. I feel strongly that we must cater for both.

To those who believe that pacifism demands that they should stand quite clear from all organized work, even of relief and healing, who therefore refuse anything but

unconditional exemption, our fullest support must and will be given. We remember with gratitude the witness of such men and women in the last war. Such action is neither negative nor passive. Indeed, in a real measure, we are the positive result of their action.

It is therefore essential that the work of looking after the interests of the C.O.s and especially those who may become the victims of a growing refusal to recognize the right of conscience, should be maintained. I hope the PPU will continue to take the lead in such work. If you who read this desire to take that position, please get into touch with us or your nearest advisory bureau.

But there are hundreds who in the present emergency are seeking some opportunity of service. It will be easy for the Government to drive them into either the concentration camp or the military machine. I believe that it should be possible to provide such pacifists with the opportunity they seek without doing violence to their conscience.

With this end in view, we are trying to ascertain whether, if we organize a Pacifist Service Corps, opportunity would be given under pacifist auspices to individual members for such service as pacifists might happily undertake. The answer is not yet known, but in the meantime if your pacifism seeks to find some such expression will you please write to R. H. Ward, at Dick Sheppard House, 8, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

But above all, let no-one judge the conscience of another.

### 1914 Speeches Again

**WE renounce war and refuse to support or sanction another.**

We cannot sanction this war. We cannot approve of it. We do not believe that it is a just war. We do not believe that it is an inevitable war.

Most respectfully I must submit that neither the broadcast of His Majesty the King nor the statements of the Prime Minister give a true picture of the situation. The appeal to God was all too reminiscent of the attitude in the last war so aptly summed up by H. M. Tomlinson:—

"God heard the embattled nations sing and shout  
'Gott strafe England' and 'God save the King'  
God this, God that, and God the other thing.  
'Good God,' said God, 'I've got my work cut out'."

(Continued on back page.)

### Mr. Lansbury: "This Terrible Calamity . . ."

**MR. GEORGE LANSBURY**, president of the Peace Pledge Union, spoke in Parliament on Sunday morning after the Prime Minister had announced that Britain was at war with Germany.

Mr. Lansbury said:

"The cause that I and a handful of friends represent is this morning apparently going down to ruin, but I think we ought to take heart of courage from the fact that after 2,000 years of war and strife, at last even those who enter upon this colossal struggle have to admit that in the end force has not settled, and cannot and will not settle anything.

"I hope that out of this terrible calamity there will arise a real spirit, a spirit that will compel people to give up reliance on force, and that perhaps this time humanity will learn the lesson and refuse to put its trust in poison gas, in the massacre of little children and universal slaughter.

### "Only One Way"

"Mr. Gladstone once said, from the other side of the House, that the cause he represented was going down, but he was sure the day would come when it would triumph.

"There cannot be a man or woman in this assembly today who takes part in the Prayers in this House every day, and there cannot be any men or women who go to church and believe in their faith but must in their hearts believe that sooner or later, if mankind is to live in freedom and peace, there is only one way by which it can do that, and that is by a complete and entire change of mind and outlook, which enables us to see ourselves in other people and God in everybody."



## R. H. Thouless Speaking Personally on Religion and Peace

### From the Editor to All Readers

IN common with most publications, *Peace News* unfortunately now appears in much reduced form.

It is particularly felt that we should conserve our resources as far as is possible without ceasing to serve, to the best of our ability in difficult circumstances, the very necessary purpose of binding together in a stronger sense of fellowship those who have pledged themselves not to take part in the evil thing that has nevertheless now come upon us all.

That will be one of the greatest needs so long as the war lasts. Not because pacifists' first concern is for their own happiness or comfort, but because nothing is more likely to discourage them from what is their primary concern—to work for peace in spite of war, to bear witness to the unity of mankind in the midst of the most disastrous conflict among men, and to stand firm against the tide of hate that will inevitably rise—than a sense of loneliness.

*Peace News*, in whatever form it has to appear, will seek not only to maintain that unity but also to give practical aid in the tasks I have mentioned. In particular, it will publish as much information as possible for the guidance of those who will register, under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, as conscientious objectors, and it will draw attention to ways in which practical service to humanity can be given now.

May I therefore beg every reader of *Peace News* to do all he possibly can to help us in that work? For however much we try to help, it will be useful only to the extent to which the paper can be distributed.

Please make sure of getting a copy, either through your newsagent or the nearest group of the Peace Pledge Union, every week.

Which brings me to the explanation of the new form of *Peace News*.

If anyone can possibly still sell the paper, either on the streets, from door to door, at your church and other gatherings, or privately, please do so.

But we appreciate the difficulty, and so *Peace News* is being printed in this way in the earnest hope that everyone who buys a copy (i.e., of an 8-page paper consisting of four pages duplicated) will not fail to pass on one of the four-page sheets to someone who does not buy it.

Thus, if we must suffer some material loss in the way of sales, at any rate there should be considerable gain in the circulation of *Peace News*.

And that, in turn, brings me to another point—not very pleasant, but just as important, please note!

Now, more than ever, we shall need the wherewithal to carry on.

So, quite apart from any extra donations you may be able to give, please make it a point of honour and special service to settle any accounts you may have with *Peace News* at your earliest possible convenience. Thank you.

Humphrey S. Moore

### "Dates for Your Diary"

We are not publishing our usual feature "Dates for your Diary" this week and shall ignore all notices of meetings received prior to the declaration of war until confirmation of them has been received.

The London Area of the Peace Pledge Union has decided to hold gatherings for all members every Tuesday, at 7 p.m., in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street (opposite Selfridge's), Oxford Street, W.1.

# Let's Go on Thinking Calmly and Accurately

I SEEM to remember that, during the period when President Wilson was struggling to keep the United States out of the last war, he once said: "If this country goes to war, it will mean that its people will quit thinking."

Whether or not President Wilson did say this (and I think he did) it was, at any rate, something that should have been said. We have now passed from a "war of nerves" to a state of open war. More than ever, we shall be surrounded by a tide of words directed by emotion and not by the brain. Clear and impartial thinking about the differences between the dictator Powers and the democracies will be regarded as an exhibition of bad taste or as criminal.

Pacifists have the duty of refusing to be swept away by this tide. As men and women of liberal sympathies, they must find much that is particularly abhorrent to them in some of the actions of the Nazis, and they may easily be tempted to feel that a war against Germany would be a war for humanity against tyranny.

### Need for Clear Thinking

AT bottom, the military state of mind is a development of erroneous thinking, and the most effective pacifist propaganda is simply an invitation to think calmly and accurately about international questions.

The punitive clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were justified by the conviction that Germany had planned the war and that Germany deserves to be punished. A way of thinking, of course, whose absurdity is shown as soon as we ask: "What then is 'Germany'?" Germany is the name of a group of people who live as citizens within the boundaries of the German state.

But only a mind can plan, and a group has no mind. Who then planned the war? Possibly some or all of the rulers of Germany, although the evidence for this is very doubtful. Who was being punished? The men, women and children who no more planned the war than you or I did.

It would be a gain to clear thinking if we stopped talking of "Germany," "Poland," &c., except when we mean either the country itself or the group of people who live in it. Germany has not invaded Poland. Part of the German army has done so. Most of all let us cease to talk of national groups "willing," "planning," "resolving," &c.

A time of war is not a time when clear thinking is much valued. Even last week, a paper summed up the situation in an article containing the following words:

"He [Hitler] has carried out the plan he declared he would carry out, hiding the truth and spreading calumnies and lies until a militarized Germany is prepared to follow wherever he leads. . . the British people have no hatred for Germany, and have no wish to see her anything but a great and prosperous nation; but by propaganda of falsehood the German people have been told that the British Government is trying to encircle Germany to destroy her. . . The truth is that Herr Hitler and the Nazi rulers of Germany are encircling all the little countries round them to destroy their independence as a step in the German dream of conquering the world."

This is to be found in a paper intended for children. Perhaps they are supposed to be too young to think. My own opinion is that this kind of emotional use of words is more dangerous fare for the young than for others. They may be in danger of mistaking it for real thought, and not be able to recognize it as a highly emotional presentation of one side of a case.

### Hitler's Mistake

THE case against Hitler as a disturber of the world's peace is black enough not to need over-statement. Hitler might retort that if the Allies wish to see Germany a great and prosperous nation, their actions since 1918 have not done much to carry out their wishes, and that what he wants now is to dominate Poland, not the world. Mistakenly, no doubt, he seems to think that we want to dominate the world.

It is obvious to us that Hitler's action in Poland is based on a foolish, even a childish, error of thought. He thinks the union of Danzig with Germany is necessary for German "national honour."

We pacifists know that the "national honour" which is made greater by increasing national possessions is a conception belonging to the thinking of the nursery and not to that of the world of grown-up people. It is a superstition like the oriental "saving face" illuminatingly explained by Mr. Lin Yu Tang. But it is, also the way that the rulers of the democratic Powers think.

If we suggest a conference for the settlement of the colonial question in which Great Britain should give up her claim to exclusive sovereignty over her own colonial empire, it is their regard for our "national honour" which makes most people repudiate such a suggestion.

Is it true that our people have no hatred for Germany? Probably most of them have not yet. They had not at the beginning of the last war. But national hatred is a plant which grows easily in the atmosphere of war. In the last war, our enemies were called by us "Huns," and those who took in German children after the armistice to save them from the food-shortage which resulted from our continued blockade, were derided by one influential newspaper as "Hun-coddlers." I am afraid that a similar spirit may soon develop in this war. Let us hope and pray that it may not.

### Our Fight Against Evil

WE have been told that we are fighting against forces of evil. That is, in an important sense, true, however hopeless it may seem to us to oppose evil with the evil instrument of war. The pacifist cannot condone Jew baiting or political terrorism. On the other hand, we can only harm the cause of peace if we let our indignation at these evils drive us into hatred of the Germans.

It is rare to find in what is written or said about modern Germany, a just course steered between the condoning of evil on the one hand and the angry indignation against Germans which is the mental aspect of the spirit of war on the other hand. I think this just course is most perfectly taken by Nora Waln in her book *Reaching for the Stars*. This is a book which everyone should read.

As the war spirit develops, we should all be reminded that individual Germans are as kind as any people in the world, and kinder than most, and that this is true also of those Germans who are Nazis. The most valuable thing about this book is that it deals sympathetically and lovingly with the German people (even with the Nazi Germans) without ever losing its justness of moral condemnation of cruelty.

Perhaps one must be born a Quaker to achieve this serenity in the face of evil. Most of us must continually struggle against the irrational conviction that if wrong is done, somebody's blood must be shed to put things right. That is the cardinal error of thought against which pacifism is a protest.

### Glasgow Anti-War Demonstration

A mass demonstration has been arranged by the No Conscription League to take place in Glasgow on Sunday (September 10).

The demonstration will march from George Square at 6.30 p.m. (along a route to be arranged), returning to North Hanover Street, where a mass meeting will be held. The speakers at this meeting will be John McGovern, MP, Bailie T. A. Kerr, W. Oliver Brown, and Guy A. Aldred.

### Meeting Today for London C.O.s

The No Conscription League and the Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors will hold a joint meeting for all COs at 6.30 p.m. today (Friday) at 8 Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.1.

THIS is the last of a series of three articles by Dr. Thouless in our "Speaking Personally" series.

We are unable to make any announcement at the moment as to future contributors.

## PACIFIST SERVICE CORPS:

### Preliminary Notice

THE Peace Pledge Union is organizing immediately, for those pacifists who feel that their best witness in war time is the service of humanity, the Pacifist Service Corps.

This Corps will, it is hoped, undertake humanitarian work of all kinds, as and where possible. It is hoped to man and equip ambulance units and land parties, and also to run canteens, provide bedding and domestic relief, &c. It is impossible to tell at present all the forms of public service which may be open.

The PPU is in communication with the Ministry of Labour. They are giving favourable consideration to the proposal that an independent pacifist organization should serve in these ways, but it will be a day or two before their definite answer is known; meanwhile the preliminary organization is being continued as fast as possible.

With the good will of as many members of its committee as it has been able to contact, the PPU has taken over the work of the original Pacifist Service Corps, and will be joined in this work by other pacifist bodies.

Further inquiries should be directed to R. H. Ward, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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# Lift Up Your Hearts— and Keep Your Heads!

FOR the second time within a generation, world-wide calamity has descended upon us. Those few who refused to believe that mankind could require another lesson see their confidence in ultimate human sanity destroyed.

Some who have written and spoken and struggled for twenty years because the first World War took "our youth, our joys, our all we had," may well feel that their efforts have been futile, their lives lived in vain.

We may weep for ourselves as individuals. Not one of us now is free from peril. As husbands, as wives, as parents, as children, we must bear the intolerable burden of unceasing apprehension, not only for those on the battlefield, but for one another. At any moment we who belong to Class 1914 may lose in one shattering blow the second little world of personal hope and love and trust and tenderness which we have built up on the ruins of the first. Yes, we may weep for ourselves. But for the pacifism which is our faith we need not weep.

## Prophecies Fulfilled

Nothing can prove more surely than the past few days, weeks and years of history, that never, now, will mankind live in peace and security until the policy for which we stand is nationally accepted and carried out. Sorrowfully we perceive the realization of all our prophecies. Provocation has led to provocation, force to more force. War preparations have caused the explosion that we all foresaw. Far from armaments giving us "security," they have brought us to a peril compared with which the disarmament that we advocated was a negligible risk.

The world-wide dismay which has greeted this cataclysm, the absence of marching songs and flag-waving and boastful jubilation, themselves indicate how near the common people of all nations were coming to the acceptance of our pacifist creed. Civilian casualties will be many in this conflict, and those who have led the peace movement cannot all hope to see its post-war rebirth. But so long as the breath is in us, we can go on working with the certainty that what we stand for will one day triumph.

WHY, then, for the moment, has our policy failed? There are two answers, I think. One is—and always is—that we have none of us done quite enough. We lose confidence too soon, or we are too easily satisfied.

We cannot, we say constantly, be all Dick Sheppards. Perhaps not; but more of us, I suspect, would approach his stature if we all worked as he worked, loved humanity as he loved it, and took the trouble that he took over the humblest individual.

But we have also failed temporarily because our policy is a difficult policy requiring an abandonment of preconceptions too revolutionary for our intelligences, a measure of sacrifice too severe for our small hearts.

## What We Need

Great qualities, such as consistent pacifism requires, are slow growers in both individuals and nations. It is easy to put the blame on others, to hate, to fight, to see our opponents as evil incarnate; those are the natural tendencies of human nature. Constructive peace-making requires a measure of faith and resolution which only sincere and deliberate cultivation can render strong enough to confront the follies with which we destroy ourselves. Above all, it needs an endowment of wise foresight and impersonal imagination which does not always come naturally even to sincere peace-lovers, who sometimes overlook "the moral obligation to be intelligent."

On August 30, when the international tension was reaching its climax, I received an anonymous letter from a correspondent in Scotland. I do not apologize for quoting it, for it explains why the noblest endeavours of the human spirit suffer periods of setback, and why those who work to liberate humanity from itself occasionally feel as though they had spent

## —urges— VERA BRITTAIN

an eternity in beating their heads against a stone wall.

"Dear Miss Brittain,

Can you not do something before it is too late. Is there nothing that women . . . who remember last time can do except sit down, and calmly wait for the slaughter to begin? I am not a member of the Peace Pledge Union, nor of anything else, I am only a mother of a 21 year old boy. Could not a million women make their voices heard somewhere in Britain and Europe? ARP is all very well, but why not do something positive? Your Testament of Youth made a lasting impression on me, and now I wish I hadn't read it, as my thoughts on mustard gas and my dreams at night are a nightmare. No, I am not hysterical or afraid of war as it used to be, but this is not war, but what can one woman do? . . ."

My correspondent asks me to do something—but she admits that she herself has done nothing whatever. She is "not a member of the Peace Pledge Union or anything else"—but she wants those of us who are to save her now. She wants a million women to raise their voices against war, as though their collection and organization were the work of a moment. Apparently—since she did not help—she is unaware that the National Peace Council recently spent six months in collecting one and a half million signatures in favour of a new international Peace Conference.

## Individual Responsibility

Moreover, when my correspondent read *Testament of Youth* six years ago, the description of my patients who died of mustard gas in 1917 did not move her sufficiently to stir her to action. It is only now, when the dread poison threatens herself and her son, that her thoughts become nightmares.

She was not afraid of "war as it used to be," for women had a grand time in all previous wars. Even in the war of 1914, the numbers who actually ran risks from shells, bombs and submarines was very small indeed. The majority got a tremendous thrill out of the feeling that fine young men were dying for them, and almost as great a kick from handing white feathers to the ones who weren't.

But now that women are faced with the possibility of dying themselves, war has ceased to be quite such fun. Even white feathers lose their glamour when the front line shifts from trenches comfortably distant in Flanders to one's own doorstep.

My correspondent is a proof that war will certainly be destroyed sooner or later by the fact that its horrors have ceased to be vicarious. But I hope and believe that there are enough men and women with imagination, compassion, energy and initiative to put an end to it without waiting for the negative operation of universal fear. If we want peace we must WORK FOR IT OURSELVES, and not turn to others to save us. Let those who are prepared to work for it join the Peace Pledge Union and BEGIN NOW.

WE have, all of us, certain important things to remember. First and foremost, our task is to hasten the coming of peace and to set our faces against all that delays it—the surging tide of hatred, the rising flood of mendacity. Let us look carefully for the truth, and when we have found it, let us tell it lucidly and without provocation.

One truth is already being overlaid in speeches and articles because, as in all wars, we have created a devil to fight. We are not really at war because Herr Hitler is a terrorist dictator without mercy. We are at war because our treatment of Germany and the rational leaders whom she elected from 1919 onwards provoked her into choosing a terrorist dictator as a last resort.

Let us remember and repent of the wrong that England has done; but let us remember that she has done great and wise and merciful things too, and will do them again if we, her people, are determined that she shall. Finally, let us never forget that she is our country; and let us seek, by means of thought and love and pity which inflict no suffering, to mitigate

the burden laid upon her and her citizens of whom we are part.

Again and again, during the holiday weeks spent this summer with my children in the New Forest, I have walked through the green glades and watched the heather deepen from mauve to purple, reflecting that for all her destructive follies which have once more helped to plunge the world in sorrow, I desire no other country than this.

## Our Constant Task

Let us remember that she is ours no less because we are ready to die for her without seeking to kill. Our love for her is increased rather than mitigated because we wish to see her yield her domination, not to superior force, but to the noble ideal of a community of free and equal nations which we must strive to keep alight in the dark period that lies before us.

Amid the tide of hatred which threatens to engulf even this continent of disillusioned fighters, we who care for peace must make it our constant task to save the purity of that ideal from self-seekers who would interpret it to serve their own ends, and insist that those whom we call our enemies have an equal right to belong to it with ourselves. Whatever we may suffer at their hands, let us remember that they are suffering similarly at ours, and that we and they now belong alike to the company of those that mourn.

We of the pacifist movement are here not to destroy but to fulfil. Our watchword is not recrimination but compassion. More than ever before—more than it is capable today of realizing—our country will need us and our message. *Sursus corda*. Let us keep our heads and lift up our hearts!

## Ourselves and the German People

by the Plain Man

THE fears I expressed last week have been fulfilled. Now the common people of Europe are being asked to pay the price of their politicians' failures.

True, we have been told that we have no quarrel with the people of Germany—only with their leaders. But it is the people of Germany who will eventually be starved by a blockade. And it is the people of Germany who will suffer when air raids start in earnest. Just as we, the people of Britain, will suffer if the German bombers reach our shores.

And when we see the suffering those bombers cause, shall we still say we have no quarrel with the German people? With all my heart I hope we shall.

For the men who carry out the raids on either side will be ordinary men, obeying orders: mere cogs in the machine. Let us realize that the machine itself is our only enemy, not the men who run it.

It may take a good deal of calmness to remember these facts. Already we are only being told just what Whitehall wishes us to know. We have no means of checking whether it is true and, if so, whether it is the whole truth.

So be on our guard. In such conditions the atrocity story flourishes. And if the civilian population here has to suffer it will be only too easy to make people believe any tale of the inhumanity of those "on the other side."

Let us remember, if we are told such tales, that they may not be true; that, even if they are true, atrocities are a part of war; and that we may never learn what atrocities have been committed in our name—by men acting under the inhuman stress of war.

AS I write it is announced that the first German casualty lists will be published shortly.

Can you imagine what that announcement means to many people in Germany, with fathers, sons, and husbands at the front? How they will anxiously read the names of the dead? When our casualty lists begin to appear, let them be reminders that we share our sorrow with people whose only crime is that they live under Hitler, and who must obey orders or be shot.

By keeping these things in our minds we shall be able to damp down the fires of hatred that always flare up in war-time.

If we forget them we shall make it enormously difficult for the war to be stopped before the nations involved are exhausted and war-weary, and we shall be placing still more obstacles in the way of building a lasting peace when it is over.

When that moment comes the people of Europe must join in the task of ending all militarism—in this country as well as abroad. We can prepare for that moment by refusing to look upon the people of any other nation as less human than ourselves—whatever the papers, and the radio, and the official communiqués may tell us.

## Value for Money!

THIS letter was sent to Peace Pledge Union headquarters the day after the war started in Poland:

"I should be obliged if you would forward particulars of any scheme you may have for the propagation of world peace."

"I enclose 2d. stamp for a reply."

**JOHN BARCLAY,**  
just back from  
holiday, on

## What We Can Do

GETTING back from holidays was a long and difficult business last weekend as many besides ourselves found. The air service between Jersey and London had been cancelled, and we came by a crowded boat.

Calling at Guernsey we saw a detachment of reservists leaving for England. A military band was playing them off. No one was singing and no-one was excited. The difference between this and 1914 is the difference between ignorance and knowledge.

In 1914 we thought that war was a picnic—that German people were Huns—that one Englishman was equal to three of any other nationality. Now we know that all are the same—that no-one wants war—that our friends in Germany and Italy are the same as our friends in America and France. There is no cheering or cheerfulness.

On Sunday afternoon—after the announcement that war had been declared between this country and Germany, I was driving along a wide road near London. I was overtaken by a motorcyclist wearing uniform. He was a young man of about 20—eager, enthusiastic, arrogant—like most of us at the same age. I was a stupid civilian driving a baby Austin—obviously quite unaware of his importance. To make me conscious of it he yelled at me as he passed "Get out of my way!" This is the spirit which is supposed to animate Hitler and all his men—against which we are fighting. Beware of "little Hitlers!"

The change of atmosphere from this to that inside the PPU was stimulating. A quiet and friendly spirit—coming in by letters from all over the country. The office full of people all day long—the 'phone keeping us busy and everywhere a desire for sanity and clear thinking.

What can we do to preserve this spirit and to extend it? I believe we have to preserve our own sense of proportion. The same misery which one sees on the face of mothers whose children have been sent away is on the faces of German mothers, and we must remind people that this is so. A bomber crashing in flames brings the same hideous death to Pole and German alike—and the fear that spreads abroad when wailing sirens warn us of approaching aircraft will be spread over every city in Germany when English and French planes are reported there.

What can we do? We can be sympathetic and show our sympathy in a thousand ways. We can have nothing to do with rumours that fly about and will increasingly do so. We can create a positive and constructive undercurrent which in time will become the main flow of human desires.

Leave the rushing about to those that think that movement is progress—in this case it is our business to supply the constructive thought from which real progress can once again begin. Let us be aware of all human suffering and encourage all those who are prepared to stand by their principles when expediency is the order of the day.

Already we are experiencing the great sense of solidarity that first showed itself at the time of the Munich crisis. From all over the areas come reports of well-attended group meetings and offers of help and money are coming in. Dick Sheppard placed his trust in us. We cannot fail him now.



# Stuart Morris on the Pacifist Task Now

(Continued from page 1)

We cannot refuse to accept a share of responsibility, nor for the sake of the future dare we forget the past and the part which the Treaty of Versailles has played in bringing about the present catastrophe. We do not believe that everything possible to avert war was done. Opportunities were missed, and at least the policy of pacifism was never tried.

The attempt to claim the whole monopoly of truth and righteousness and represent Hitler as evil incarnate is in itself part of the moral and mental perversion which war produces. Even if it were all true about our righteousness and Hitler's iniquity, even if we had never broken promises, we should still be unable to sanction this war, if only because it cannot possibly attain the end which is in view.

Some of the speeches recently made might have been borrowed almost verbatim from similar utterances in 1914. We are being told that this is "the last war," "that we do not want to add a yard of territory to our empire." Now, as then, "we are fighting what is evil." Already suspicion is being cast upon the methods of the enemy, already we are anxious to accept any rumour of inhuman action.

The evil which is personified in Hitler at the beginning of the war, with a kind of smug sympathy for the German people, is already beginning to besmirch them, and under the influence of war it will not be long before not only Hitler, but every German is regarded as a child of the Evil One. We cannot sanction such a gross travesty of the truth or support a Ministry of Lies.

We must stand out firmly against the attempt to win a war by propagating hatred, even if it means that we are regarded as endangering the possibility of victory. Let us remember that we have not always fulfilled our promises; that we have not made the best use of the opportunities for peace-making; that we have pursued a policy of encirclement through imperialistic and economic monopolies; that we have not been prepared to make the necessary sacrifices for peace.

Let us day by day and night by night (especially as the air-raid warnings

blow) keep on reminding ourselves and others that there are anxious and fearful hearts in Germany as well, that they have no defence against our bombs and that we have no quarrel with them. Our pledge to humanity must stand; we renounce war and will never support or sanction another.

## Our Constructive Policy

**B**UT the Peace Pledge Union has never seen pacifism in terms of a merely negative reaction to war, or, if necessary, an obstructive attitude to a Government engaged in war.

We have always advocated constructive proposals which we still believe could have saved Europe from this tragedy. If we have failed to avert the tragedy of war, we must try to save peoples from the tragedy of another peace similar to the last. In spite of the official assurances that we have no quarrel with the German people the British Government has declared that we must crush Hitler, stamp out Nazism, etc. Substitute the Kaiser and Prussianism and how familiar it sounds to those who remember 1914-1918.

That means that the war is begun in the spirit which is going to insist on a war to the finish and another dictated treaty. That must not be allowed.

Let us therefore recast our constructive policy into the form of a peace settlement which would herald in a new world order. Let us not wait until hatred has done its work, and war weariness has produced the inevitable result.

Let us seek immediately to co-operate with others in formulating the essential features of a new peace treaty. Let us begin now a constant and unwearying campaign to prepare the hearts and minds of people to accept such a policy.

Let us be ready, if such acceptance could be secured from our own people, to find the way through which Hitler and the German people could be induced to accept such proposals. So that all the time we may be working against the idea of a protracted fight to a bitter end, whose fruits will be a dictated peace, and for bringing the war to as speedy an end as possible in a peace by negotiation.

## Our Task

**S**O let our pacifism vindicate itself. I know that we can rely on individual members to stand firm to their pledge. It is encouraging to note that since August 1, we have had 1,207 new signatories, and 157 on the day after the declaration of war. I know that groups, even if in the force of circumstances they are thrown back more and more upon their own resources, will rise to every occasion and maintain the fellowship of the PPU unbroken and its witness untarnished.

I hope that so far as possible it will be unnecessary to cancel any of the meetings already arranged, though it will behave all our speakers, while they do not water down their message, to use such discretion as may be necessary to prevent arousing any unnecessary hostility and to serve the real cause of peace.

To sum up, then, I see our task in the following terms:

Maintaining our pledge and our pacifism witness unimpaired by

(a) Supporting those who are conscientious objectors and giving them such moral and financial backing as may be possible.

(b) Organizing for those who desire it, if circumstances permit, a pacifist service corps to provide under our auspices the opportunities for those who would be ready to do first-aid work, work on the land or in community; to take care of enemy aliens and other refugees, or those who may be driven from their homes by air-raids, etc., etc.

(c) Remembering at all times that common humanity in which the German people share (including Hitler), and agreeing on a new expression of pacifism related to the present realities in the shape of peace terms for which we shall continually endeavour to secure public support.

So shall our pledge to humanity stand and so whatever may be the verdict of the present, we shall be justified in the future.

## CONSCRIPTION EXTENDED

### Details of the New Regulations

**T**HE National Service (Armed Forces) Act, passed by Parliament last week-end, provides, in effect, simply for the extension of conscription to all men aged 18-41, inclusive.

In the House of Commons on Sunday Mr. Hore-Belisha said:

"We shall ascend from the point where we have now started. At least, that is our intention at the moment. We have those of the age of 20-21 and we shall go up the scale very considerably before we contemplate placing this obligation on this lower age group" (the under-twenties).

With certain exceptions, the procedure will be practically the same as under the Military Training Act, which provided for compulsory military training for men of 20. One big difference, of course, is that instead of being called up for six months' training, those affected will be liable for actual military service.

### The Act's Provisions

The new Act provides as follows:—

1 "His Majesty may from time to time by proclamation direct that every male person of the age or ages mentioned in such proclamation shall on the date of the proclamation become liable under this Act to be called up for service in the armed forces." (In other words, no-one is affected at all by the Act until his particular age is mentioned in such a proclamation.)

2 The Minister of Labour will then make regulations indicating the time, place, &c., at which those who thus "become liable" must make "application to be registered under this Act," and must furnish "such particulars about himself as may be so notified." These regulations may be different for different classes of persons. There is also provision for exempting certain people from the regulations (apparently, for example, those of 20 years of age who have already given such particulars about themselves).

3 A certificate of registration will be issued to each person so registered, and "if, at any time while he is liable under this Act to be called up for service, he is requested so to do by a constable in uniform," he must produce the certificate.

4 "If any person liable under this Act to be called up for service claims that he conscientiously objects—

"(a) to being registered in the military service register, or

"(b) to performing military service, or

"(c) to performing combatant duties,

he may... apply in the prescribed manner to be registered as a conscientious objector."

Presumably "the prescribed manner" is here the same as it was under the Military Training Act—that is, such application for registration as a conscientious objector must be made at the same time and place as announced by the Minister for registration of all those of the particular age who are to be called up. For provision is again made for those who, for one reason or other, did not register as conscientious objectors, but intended to do so, to apply for such registration. But under this Act they have only until two days after medical examination (see 6 below) in which to rectify the matter.

### Procedure for COs

5 The procedure for a conscientious objector is then the same as under the Military Training Act—he will be notified when and where to appear before a tribunal (to be constituted in the same way) to state his reasons for wishing to be registered permanently on that register; he may be accompanied at the hearing by a representative; both applicant and representative may claim expenses; and an appeal against the decision may be made to the appellate tribunal.

6 The tribunal's decision may be:

"(a) that the applicant shall, without conditions, be registered in the register of

### Mr. Maxton Said:

**I** CANNOT blind my eyes to the fact that this is not merely military conscription, but is in essence industrial conscription also for every man from 18 to 41. This decides where he is to be and where he is to serve in a much more definite way than did the Military Training Act that we previously opposed.

I am not here going into my basic reasons for opposing this Bill, but I enter my protest against the belief that war can achieve things. We are particularly against the view that any good can come to working class people in any of the countries in Europe as a result of armed force either in this country or any other.

I have in my own feeble way had to propound that philosophy in this House on other occasions, and I am not going to repeat it now in the circumstances in which we find ourselves, but simply intimate that our opposition to this Measure is maintained in keeping with our general political approach.

conscientious objectors; or

"(b) that he shall be conditionally registered in that register until the end of the present emergency, the condition being that he must, until that event, undertake work specified by the tribunal, of a civil character and under civilian control, and, if directed by the Minister, undergo training... to fit him for such work; or

"(c) that he shall be registered as a person liable under this Act to be called up for service but to be employed only in non-combatant duties"; or

(d) that "his name shall, without qualification, be removed from the register of conscientious objectors."

7 Since "a person shall not be liable under this Act to be called up for service so long as he is registered in the register of conscientious objectors," and since medical examination notices are only "to be served on any person for the time being liable under this Act to be called up," there is (as in the case of the Military Training Act) to be no examination of conscientious objectors—except those who, for some reason, have got into the wrong register (see 4 above).

Moreover, if such examination notice is served (and also if the subsequent enlistment notice is served) on anyone who has ceased to be liable for service, before the date on which he is notified to present himself, that notice shall not have effect.

8 "A man in holy orders or a regular minister of any religious denomination" is included among those who are not liable to serve.

9 Those already dealt with under the Military Training Act are deemed to have been dealt with in the same way under the new Act, except that "where the work to be performed" as a condition of exemption "has not been specified by the tribunal, the tribunal shall, on the application of the Minister, specify such work."

10 If a conscientious objector whose case has not been upheld (so that he is subject to military service) is serving a term of at least 3 months' imprisonment for disobeying military orders, for conscientious reasons, he may appeal to the appellate tribunal, which, if satisfied as to the conscientious reasons, may recommend his discharge from the armed forces after serving the sentence. This recommendation shall be acted upon, but the appellate tribunal may impose conditions of exemption.

### Proposed London Community

All interested in the possibilities of living communally in flats and houses in London are asked to attend a meeting to be held in Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, on Wednesday, September 13, at 7 p.m., or to communicate with Frank Jarvis, 93 Carleton Road, Tufnell Park, N.7.

At a meeting on Monday it was felt that a number of people would be disabled economically and would find it impossible to maintain an absolutist stand if obliged to depend on their own resources.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1.

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